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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a history of motion pictures that focuses on how motion pictures, from 1894 to the present, have portrayed Latins. The role that Hollywood has played in the perpetuation of stereotypes is illustrated. There is an explanation of how film has illuminated a world beyond everyday experiences and has introduced the movie-goer to new cultures, countries, and people. The paper postulates that the film industry formed myth out of reality and from those fabricated myths stereotypes developed, and it discusses how films became references for many people that included stereotypes, preexisting beliefs, and distorted images of the people presented. Images, portrayed by film, from the "Latin Lover" to the "Frito Bandito" are discussed. The paper centers on the stereotypes that develop as a result of one-sided, superficial depictions of complex cultures. The roles of over 15 films are discussed. (Contains 35 references.) (TMK)

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STEROTYPES OF THE LATIN IMAGE IN AMERICAN FILMS SILENT PERIOD TO 1945

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INTRODUCTION

Motion pictures were projected onto a screen in front of an audience for the first time in 1894. The success of the new invention was instantaneous and sensational, although the first films were short and by present standards naive and artless. But within one decade, longer narrative films and comedies developed. Together with increasing technical skill and more sophisticated equipment, film evolved into a mass cultural influence. Movies served many functions - as entertainment, as a form of art, as an instrument of propaganda, as a medium of social change, and as a transmitter of cultural values. Movies were a form of democratic entertainment, which held the power to manipulate American's system of ideas.

With the invention of the motion picture, a new form of communication was developed that would effect and shape contemporary cultural life. Film illuminated a world beyond everyday experiences, and introduced the movie-goer to new cultures, countries and people. This new medium would be instrumental for distorting reality and would influence the viewer's ideology. With the use of motion pictures, the film industry formed myth out of reality and reality from fantasy. Within this fabricated myth stereotypes developed. Hollywood movies gave immigrants a view of what they had to do to become "Americans" and in turn, contributed to how Americans came to perceive other ethnic groups. These myths and stereotypes simultaneously paraded across the silver screens in big cities

and small towns gave the nation a common fund of references.

This common fund of references included stereotypes, pre-existing beliefs and distorted images of people that were present in all aspects of American film. The Latin was one particular culture which suffered at the hands of filmmakers. Thus, Latin stereotyped images persisted in distorting the North American's view of their neighbors to the south. Images from the "Latin Lover" to the "Frito Bandito" remained in the minds of Americans. These images created false notions of the true people. What the stereotypes of the bandit, Latin Lover, and the Mexican spitfire all had in common was that they reduced the people to a one-sided, superficial and exaggerated depiction of a complexed culture.

STEREOTYPES AND HOLLYWOOD

Stereotypes were a natural progression which developed due to the inaccurate display of the characters and countries portrayed. Standardized representation of characters evolved from distorted information and the misconceptions of popular social attitudes. This was evident in the portrayal of people and locales in the films that were produced. Inaccurate notions, such as all South American people speak spanish, or that all Blacks, Native Indians and Latins are lazy, ignorant people reflect the erroneous concepts which influenced the film industry. Stereotypes, racism and discrimination were an

everyday product of the silver screen. These blatant misrepresentations of individual people, places and nations effected the way American people viewed their world neighbors.

Hollywood had always been good at adapting and reworking popular mythology, and readily borrowed many popular ethnic stereotypes and encased them in film footage. The film industry rewrote the existing values and concepts that were present in drama, vaudeville, literature and newspapers, as well as in history, sociology and anthropology. Stories with titles of Barbarous Mexico (1910) and Bandit Hospitality (1914), to theatre productions of A New Coon In Town (1914) and Po' White Trash (1910), affected film themes to follow. These and other stereotype images were not new; film accepted them and confirmed them into the general public's mind. Hollywood movies repeated almost endlessly similar themes and characters, and as Michael Wood argues in his book, America in the Movies, Hollywood remade its successful formulas so often that plots and people become interchangeable, being "transferred from India or the African desert to the American West; from Ireland to the American ghetto".[REF.1] These stereotypes became self-perpetuating, and therefore dangerous. The danger exsited in film's real power over the audience. American audiences were receptive to film, the movie-goer did not need to master English to derive meaning and amusement from the motion picture. Movies became a universal means of communication, thus, reinforced and strenghten those pre-existing stereotyped images illuminated on the screen.

American audiences were not of one single homegeneous ethnic group and so responded differently to similar images projected on the screen with their own distinct set of values and customs. What was seen as entertainment to one cultural group might have been seen as offensive to another. One example is the film, The Birth of a Nation (1915) directed by the southern D.W. Griffith. Not everyone enjoyed this film or wanted it shown in their local theatres. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People vigorously fought aganist it, and complained the film was racist. Yet, in the southern states the film was received as an accurate historical account of the nation.[Ref.2] Early films produced during the decades of 1890 to 1910 appealed to the working class, then, in later decades, feature films began to attract the middle class. The movie audience thus came from every segment of society, and these films appealed to their emotions and aesthetic tastes distinctively.

Movies served as handbooks of social behavior. They introduced many people to populations that they would otherwise never had met or known, and so established the basic conception of those people and places. The very persistence and constant encounters of ethnic stereotypes in films created an aura of "truth" about them. The stereotype became a concrete manifestation of prejudiced belief: for example, hostility toward the Hispanics manifested itself in several stereotyped images of the Latins, including the characterization of the Latin men as gigolos lusting after American women. To cite one instance, in

the film Fiesta (1941), Esther Williams constantly fights off the advances of Latin suitors. The film leaves the viewer with the impression that all Latin men are caballeros, desirous of North American women.

Racism, prejudice and the accompanying stereotyped images were evident in many avenues of public expression. The press, magazines, speeches, radio, and the movies reflected American's existing attitudes. False notions of complex cultures were provided to Americans as realistic images especially in film. Millions of Americans regularly attended the movies, and statistics tell part of the story. For the years between 1930-1945, the movies averaged 80 million in weekly attendance, a sum representing more than half of the U.S. population of the time.[REF.3] Hollywood thus became a huge profit center that reflected public opinion of the time, and the films produced shared society's common general climate of opinion.

LATIN IMAGE

The treatment of the Latin in film exhibited one particular people distorted beyond the true social experiences of the culture. American filmmakers tended to see Latin America as a monolithic state. The facts that Cuba was different from Mexico, and that Brazil was not Argentina. As former actor President Ronald Reagan said a few years ago, when offering a toast to the President of Brazil while in Braislia: "I am so happy to be here in Bolivia"[REF.4] To the American film industry, a Latin was a

Latin. Nationality or individuality never entered into the story element as a particular film was produced. Hollywood thus, exhibited abusive stereotypes and denigrating distortions of Latins in motion pictures.

Film easily adopted these pre-existing stereotypes whenever the people of Latin America were depicted. The earliest portrayals of Latins in American films displayed an extremely violent individual, often know as a "greaser". He was used as the convenient villian or "bandito", rival of the North American and the "bandito" became the vilest of the silver screen's villians. The "greaser" or "bandito" robbed, pillaged, raped, murdered, cheated, gambled, lied, and displayed every vice imaginable that could be shown on the screen.

This image developed into a series of "greaser" films, such as Tony the Greaser (1911) and The Greaser's Revenge (1914). The phase "greaser" quickly replaced the "Mexican" or "Latin" as a synonym for the violent Hispanic of the screen. The Mexican "greaser" carried his occupation to excess, for example in The Cowboy's Baby (1910) a Mexican threw the hero's child into the river, while the "greaser" in A Western Child's Heroism (1912) attacked the Americans who had saved his life.[Ref. 5] The bandito was portrayed as a racially inferior, sinister individual compared to the North American. He would always lose or be destroyed at the hands of his rival, the North American.

Although most of the "greasers" were portrayed as violent and evil individuals, the bandito could redeem himself if he

showed loyalty to the North Americans. In the film, Tony the Greaser (1911), the "greaser" Tony saved the landowner's daughter from Mexican banditos and is killed. He is allowed at the end to kiss the daughter's handkerchief as he dies. The Mexican was never portrayed as winning the North American women, nor did he touch or kiss her; his only reward was a superficial fondling of her belongings. Here Hollywood reinforced the notion of North American superiority over their South American neighbors.

Hollywood confirmed existing attitudes toward the Latins, such as the beliefs that the North American people were a superior race in every conceivable manner. During this period, North American investments began to pour into Latin America. Prior to this, with the exception of Cuba, Mexico had been the only Latin American country into which large investments of private capital had poured from the United States. By 1910 the holdings, large and small of the United States citizens in Mexico amounted to approximately one billion dollars. Indeed, the value of foreign holdings was greater that that of native owned property, and the foreign holdings of United States citizens were more than those of all other foreigners combined.[Ref. 6]. North Americans saw themselves as citizens of a proprietary state, manifesting in the belief of superiority and power. They held the power to control the economies of neighboring countries with the American dollar.

North American were also influenced by other prevalent political issues of the time. Stories of United States foreign

policy were projected at the American public in the form of newspaper reports. News-accounts of the interventions of the United States in Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, and Haiti affected United States citizen's attitudes toward neighboring countries. The United States viewed itself as a world power, dominant over inferior Latin countries. Again, this notion was prevalent in Hollywood films, as the Latin was always portrayed as a subordinate to the Yankee.

The approach of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 brought the Latin image of violence to the screen via a series of pseudo-documentaries. As the American people viewed their neighbors to the south, real and fictional events blurred together. Pancho Villa, the revolutionary, signed a contract with Mutual Fund Corporation which allowed cameramen to record his expliots, in exchange for funds for weapons [REF.7]. The films that resulted tended to emphasize the gory details of the Mexican Revolution and ignored the real people and their political goals. Hollywood distorted history with these images. These films did not accurately display all aspects of the revolution and in turn gave the North American people a false impression of this complexed social problem and the nation involved. The "revolution" thus became a feature film shown at neighborhood movie theaters, which exposed Americans once again to the stereotyped Hispanic. This type of film reinforced the Hispanic muderous bandito image to the American public as a villian that destroyed, murdered and pillaged anyone in his way. It should also be noted, Villa was

portrayed as a bandit even in the newspaper accounts, "Villa and his outlaws slaughtered sixteen American engineers at Santa Ysabel", appeared in the headlines.[Ref. 8] He was the "real to life bandito" described in films and news accounts, hence, North Americans viewed their Mexican neighbors as murderous bandits that would invade the United States at any moment.

The "greaser" or "bandito" was retired briefly during World War I, as Hollywood switched its villians to those of German heritage, with images of the Hun and the Kaiser as the enemy, not the Mexican next door. But the "south of the border bandito" returned after the War, and by this time the Mexican government had enough of this erroneous image. Mexico objected to Hollywood's portrayal of its people as "bandits and thieves" and threaten to ban all films by companies which offend its citizens.[REF.9] This threat which came in 1922, caused screenwriters to re-examine their neighbors to the south and treat them with more understanding. The "greaser" quickly lost his Mexican nationality in the attempt to eradicate complaints, but his character still lingered in films which portrayed Latins. Not only did Mexico threaten to ban all films which "attacked, slandered, defamed, insulted or misprepresented" the various nations of Latin orgin, but Nicaragua, Peru, Chile, Argentia, Spain, and El Salvador also particpated in similar agreements.[Ref. 10] The willingness of other countries to join Mexico's protest reflected the realization that Hollywood's "bandito" was actually a universal Latin stereotype.

As a result of the economic reprisals, Hollywood's image of the Latin softened as the 1930's progressed, yet certain stereotyped images never quite disappeared. The 1935 film Bordertown best revealed Hollywood's dual treatment of its Latin neighbors. In the film, Paul Muni was featured as a hard working Latin law school student who studied at night and graduated at the top in his class. Yet, in his first courtroom appearance Johnny Ramirez (Muni) physically assaulted the opposing attorney and was quickly disbarred. He then drifted outside the law and became involved as the manager of a gambling casino. This is the stereotyped irony, he was able to persevere and study at night for years, but was unable to control his temper for a few brief moments in court. The Latin was portrayed as a character subject to uncontrollable fits of anger and violent outbursts. Additionally, when Johnny was disbarred, he did not seek a "legal" profession, but became a gambler outside of the law. This was a pre-supposed prejudgement of the Latin male character. He was not within the mainstream of society, but was portrayed as a criminal element living on the outside of the law.

Other stereotyped characteristics of the Latin in 1930's are revealed in Bordertown. Johnny was portrayed as a loner, fallen from society. In the film, he met a society women played by Betty Davis and fell in love with her. After a few dates, he decided to propose, only to get the reply "we are not of the same tribe, savage". Johnny angered, replied "I was O.K. to kiss and have fun with but not O.K. to marry".[REF.11] Hollywood

reinforced the notion that the Latin male would never win the Anglo female. As the film progressed, Johnny was jolted back to reality and sold everything to open a law school in his hometown. Here we find the stereotyped statement of Johnny back with his people in his "proper" social setting. Hollywood reinforced the belief that as a minority, Johnny was not of the same tribe and should never have tried to leave his people in the first place.

Hollywood portrayed the Latin male as a man unable to find love, just as Johnny was unable to. The idea of the "Latin Lover" popularized in the 1920's offered little comfort to the Latin males on the screen during the 1930's. The image of the Latin Lover was defined as a "Mediterranean character rather than a Hispanic screen character" [REF. 12]. The sensual desires evoked by Valentino and Novarro offered a distinctive constrast with the laughter provoked by Tony the Greaser. The Latin Lover was the most sensual male of the screen, yet the majority of films about Latin Americans revealed an asexual comedic character. During the 1930's the Latin males of the screen seemed incapable of holding a normal adult relationship with any woman. The Latin male was constantly tossed aside by his Latin woman, and especially if the woman was confronted by a North American. In the film, Flying Down to Rio (1933) this occurred when Raul Roulien willingly stepped aside and allowed his fiance to marry Gene Raymond, an American bandleader. The Latin boyfriend typically withdrew from the competition for the Latin woman and was characterized to remain alone, unloved, a peon

unwilling to fight for his lover.

Part of the confusion about the Latin Lover image, stemmed from the term "Latin". Only rarely was it synoymous with Latin American and more often the Latin Lover was of an Italian descent, as a review of the film Latin Blood (1914) revealed: "Gains, an Italian garderner, is an employee on the estate of the rich and beautiful Lucia. His emotional nature makes him fall madly in love with her, but his dull brain prevents his realizing how ridiculous it is".[Ref.13] The concept of the Latin Lover was indicative more of a character type, than a geographical region. The dark complexion, the narrow lips, the dark hair, and the passionate eyes became trademarks of the Latin Lover image. As a result, the Latin Lover remained part of the Mediterranean people, rather than of South American descent.

Unlike male Latin Lovers, females of the species were usually Latin Americans. Sexuality once attributed to Valentino and Novarro was passed to Dolores Del Rio and Lupe Velez. Both typified the sexual Latin temptress of the silver screen. In Flying Down to Rio, Del Rio was able to attract men effortlessly from across a crowded room. She had the ability to attract men with a bat of an eyelash and her prize was inevitably a North American male. Another variant was Lupe Velez in her series of films about the "Mexican Spitfire"; films with titles like Hot Pepper (1933), The Girl From Mexico (1939) and Mexican Spitfire (1939) [REF.14]. Again the message was the same, the Latin woman represented a hot-blooded temptress obessed with obtaining sexual

pleasure, or in other words, she became the seductive senorita stereotype.

Another point to be made about Bordertown was the irony of Paul Muni portraying the lead role. He was not of hispanic heritage, yet he portrayed a Latin. In the 1930's Latins were rarely used in prominent roles, and major studios presented their contract artists as Latins through the use of brown-face make-up. Muni thus, became the resident "Mexican" for Warner Brothers in both Bordertown (1935) and Juarez (1939) [REF 15]. Although, Latin women did somewhat better than their male counterparts in this regard, Lupe Velez once expressed her resentment that she was casted as "Japanese, Indian squaws, Hindus, Swedes, Chinese, but rarely a Latin" [REF. 16]. It should be noted that it was not until the 1940's that Lupe Velez achieved a screen identity as a Mexican in her Mexican Spitfire series. During the Depression, native Latins did not succeed in Hollywood as effortlessly as the actors that only portrayed Latins.

Hollywood virtually ignored the Latin during the 1930's, yet the 1940's told a different story for native Latin stars in American films. Hollywood rediscovered the Latin image, and that decade became a particularly fertile period for Latin theme films. Suddenly films utilized native Latin stars, locales, and historical heros appeared in American movie theaters. Movie-goers discovered and enjoyed such stars as Carmen Miranda, Ricardo Montalban and Cesar Romero in a variety of filmatic roles. The first films were of a musical nature, with Rio De

Janeiro and Buenos Aires supplanted for fallen Paris as symbols of glamorous living.

One particular reason for this explosion of films with Latin themes was a response to deliberate government policy. With the threat of war with Germany, the United States government appeared eager to smooth any existing tensions with South America. President Franklin D. Roosevelt attempted to reassert the Good Neighbor Policy which had been damaged in the 1930's in the face of the Mexican government's expropriation of American oil and American intervention in Nicaragua and Cuba. Anxious to promote friendship among the two Americas, Roosevelt explained the basis for his reassertion of the Good Neighbor Policy:

"I began to visualize a wholly new attitude toward other American Republics based on an honest and sincere desire, first, to remove from their minds all fear of American aggression- territorial or financial - and, second, to take them into a kind of hemispheric partnership in which no Republic would take undue advantage." [REF. 17]

Although, the Good Neighbor Policy influenced the movie industry, still other motives were evident. The European market for U.S. films dried up completely and a concerted effort was made to court new markets for American films. By 1940, only Central and South America remained major importers of American films owing to the changing political situation throughout the world. President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Nelson

Rockefeller as director of the Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, the policy of which was to support inter-American unity.[Ref. 18] Nelson Rockefeller in turn, appointed John Hay Whitney to head the Motion Picture Section of this Office and to oversee film production. The Motion Picture Section declared its mission was to "avoid blatant errors which might offend the neighbors to the south." [Ref.19]

Although the Motion Picture Section's activities were primarily regulatory, the Office did participate in the production of several newsreels and short subjects. Rockefeller and Whitney were instrumental in the hiring of Walt Disney as the first Hollywood producer of motion pictures specifically intended to carry a message of democracy and friendship below the Rio Grande. Whitney proclaimed that Disney would show the truth about the American way and that he would be "the greatest goodwill ambassador of all time, they would believe Disney's message of Americanism as people all over the world know and love his characters" [Ref.20] North America found its propaganda machine, and Disney produced animated films with the Brazilian parrot in Saludos Amigos (1943) and The Three Caballeros (1945). The Brazilian parrot was a spin-off of the Carmen Miranda image of Pan-Americanism, and he would sing and sway to the native songs of Latin America. These two films portayed the Latin American people who dance, sing, and celebrate at all conceivable moments, a view which, though not necessary negative, was hardly accurate.

Due to the propaganda functions of the Motion Picture Section, the film industry's depiction of the Latin suddenly bordered on respect and admiration. Juarez (1939), a production of Warner, offered praise of the nineteenth century Mexican president and portrayed him as comparable to Abraham Lincoln. Juarez, as played by Paul Muni, rarely appeared in his office without the portrait of Lincoln peering over his shoulder. The shadow of Lincoln symbolicly appeared throughout the film. As Juarez fled from advancing troops, he removed the portrait of Lincoln. Hence, Hollywood equated Juarez and Lincoln as historical characters who defended democratic principles. This particular film avoided the blatant stereotypes of the Hispanic and revealed sympathy toward Latin characters. Juarez was the first real Mexican hero of the American screen. During production Warner issued assurances that Juarez would be portrayed as accurately as possible. To accomphish this, portions of the film's dialogue were extracted from Congressional debates of the period. [REF. 21]

Hollywood suddenly reversed old stereotypes with this new found repect toward the Latin. No longer were the Latins characterized as lazy ignorant people, but the new Latin of the wartime era appeared well-educated. Buddy Ebsen in They Met in Argentina (1941) was suprised to discover that everyone, from the ranch hands to the young senoritas was able to speak English with the slightest accent. [REF. 22] Additionally, films of this period portrayed Latin American nations as having distictive

cultures and histories. Films distinguished between varying South American locales, and allowed the viewer to spend That Night in Rio (1941) or travel Down Argentine Way (1940).

Hollywood then united these new images of the Latin and created a common assumpton that North America and South America were like in many positive respects. In Fiesta (1941), Ricardo Montalban assured Alan Napier, an American tourist, that Mexico had its own symphony orchestra right in Mexico City. Again, in They Met In Argentina, the gauchos sang the same tune that the North American hero sang as a youth on his Texas ranch [REF. 23]. The similarities between the two cultures were stressed in order to emphasize the importance of Pan-American unity and the United States' Good Neighbor Policy. Hollywood thus reinforced the U.S. government's propaganda policy for maintaining hemispheric unity.

Regardless of Hollywood's apparently good intentions, filmmakers actually succeeded in replacing one film stereotype with another. The Latin characters were identifed almost exclusively with their music, directly due to the popularity of the Latin rhythms of the rumba, the conga, and the samba. Rarely did they appear in American musicals without singing songs of native South American countries. No longer was the Latin portrayed as a bandito with a gun; now he held a guitar and sang sweet melodies. As for the Latin women, they were associated with hip swaying dances and seductive songs.

In John Storm Roberts book, The Latin Tinge, he makes this statement about the films, "Latin music's mass popularity was

developing from the beginning of the decade(1940). An extremely important part was played by Hollywood, with a large number of musicals built around specifically Latin-oriented plots, often tied to a country or city title, and many others that include a Latin number or two in a non-Latin script."[REF. 24] These hip-swaying dances were different from the ordinary North American rhythms and gave Latin stars increased sexuality which Carmen Miranda and others accentuated in their performances. The use of symbolism emphasized this image, for example, in the Gangs All Here (1943), Miranda was surrounded by hundreds of long-legged dancing girls with six-foot bananas on their heads. This outrageous stereotype insulted the Brazilian government, and this particular film was banned in Brazil [REF 25]. Hollywood symbolicly equated the people of South America with the banana, thus the stereotyped image of South America as a banana republic was reinforced.

Other outrageous stereotyped images were developed, and the actress Carmen Miranda, particularly, was the subject of these gaudy misrepresentations. The film industry developed the popular image of Carmen Miranda as a saucy, exotic dancer with a fruit-laden hat and a fiery temper. Again, old stereotyped images of the female Latin reappeared in films as a hot-blooded senorita. Hollywood depicted her as a native of the banana republic, and her trademark became the "bahina", the flower fruit headdress of Bahia, Brazil. This image of Carmen Miranda was engraved into the minds of the Americans as they associated her

as the senorita with the banana headdress.

Another point to be made about the films of this period was their continued portrayal of sexual superiority of North Americans over South Americans. In the 1939 film Flying Down to Rio the North American easily stole Dolores Del Rio from her Latin fiance. Nothing had changed by 1941, as James Ellison won the heart of Maureen O'Hara, who portrayed an Argentine in They Met In Argentina, away from her Latin boyfriend Alberto Villa. The same pattern held true in Too Many Girls and Pan-Americana (1945), both RKO productions [REF.26]. The South American rarely managed to marry the hero or the heroine in these films, especially if the rival was a North American. Here Hollywood reinforced the prejudiced belief of North Americans superiority over the South Americans, even as lovers.

A number of films from this period revolved around the glamorous night life themes, for example, That Night in Rio. These films were resented by the people of the regions as giving a false impression of their true habits and customs. Not all Latins could afford the night life and glamour of Rio. Hollywood gave the false impression that all South Americans either gambled, rode horses or enjoyed singing and dancing at night clubs, none of this was true.

As the war ended, Hollywood's enthusiasm with Latin themes declined due to the fact that the European film market was back in business. Still, stereotyped images did not disappear. The story element was changed, but the same prejudiced views occured

over and over again throughout the film industry. These stereotyped images reaffirmed in the eyes of Americans exaggerated racial characteristics of the Latin people. Hollywood rarely portrayed the Latins as people in control of their own lives, and capable of standing up for their own rights. American films rarely considered social issues affecting Latin Americans. The American people, left with an image of the Latin as a bandito or a seductive senorita, never fully understood the complexity of this very unique culture and people.

One must remember that filmmakers borrowed images of stereotypes that had been knocking around in literature, drama and vaudeville. Hollywood refined them, nationalized them, and in a sense confirmed them, but they did not invent them. Films are products of collective efforts and so reveal collective popular attitudes. Moviemakers chose one social reality and ignored others in depicting ethnic groups. By selecting fragments, or frames of life, they necessarily missed the fullnesss and complexity of any group's true experience. Popular movie stereotypes of American Indians, Blacks, Latins and other immigrant groups suggest mass prejudices and beliefs about those people as groups, for stereotypes refer to mental pictures of groups not individuals. Hollywood feature films thus became social documents of American cultural history.

Every movie is a cultural artifact and so reflect values, myths, fears, and assumptions of the culture that produces it. As James Agee noted "every piece of entertainment has nightmarish

accuracy as a triple-distilled image of a collective dream, habit or desire".[Ref.27]

Notes

1. Michael Wood, America in the Movies (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 10.

2. Robert Sklar, Movie-Made America., (New York: Random House, 1985), p. 58.

3. Statistics taken from Robert B. Ray, A Certain Tendency of the Hollywood Cinema. 1930-1980 (Princeton, N J : Princeton University Press, 1985), pp.25-26.

4. Steven Weisman, "President Pledges to Give Brazilians a $1.2 Billion Loan", New York Times. December 12, 1982, p. 1.

5. Allen L. Woll, The Latin Image in American Film. (California: University of Calif. Press 1977), p. 8.

6. Samuel Bemis, The Latin American Policy of the United States. An Historical Interpretation (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1943), p. 170.

7. Woll, The Latin Image., p. 11.

8. Bemis, The Latin American Policy of the United States, p. 181.

9. Woll, The Latin Image., p. 17.

10. Ibid, p. 34.

11. Ibid, p. 36.

12. Ibid, p. 23.

13. "Latin Blood" Moving Picture World, August 1914, p. 861.

14. Woll, The Latin Image , p. 36.

15. Ibid, p. 38.

16. "Lupe Velez" Saturday Evening Post. January 2, 1932, p. 26.

17. Allen L. Woll, "Hollywood's Good Neighbor Policy: The Latin Image in American Films, 1939-1946", Journal of Popular Film, III (Fall, 1974): 279.

18. "To Advise on Program Linking Hemisphere" New York Times, November 15, 1940, p. 14.

19. Woll, The Latin Image in American Film, p. 55.

20. "Walt Disney and Latin American" Motion Picture Herald, January 10, 1942. p. 7.

21. "Juarez" New York Times, April 30, 1939, p. 5.

22. Woll, The Latin Image, p. 62.

23. "They Met in Argentina" Time, November 9, 1942, p. 24.

24. John Storm Roberts, The Latin Tinge (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 105.

25. Woll, The Latin Image, p. 63.

26. Ibid., p. 63.

27. James Agee, Agee on Film, Reviews, and Comments. (Boston:Beacon Press, 1966), p.41.

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